

CONFIDENTIAL Department of State

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

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ACTION ARA-16

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 AOS-00 CIAE-00 000E-00 000E-00
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FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5617
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
USINT HAVANA
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AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PN
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA

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USCINCLANT FOR POLAD

E.O. 12865: GDS 10/31/86 (HAVERKAMP R) OR-H
TAGS: PINS, PINT, JM
SUBJECT: THE JAMAICAN ELECTION RESULTS AND PROSPECTS

1. C-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE OPPOSITION JAMAICA LABOUR PARTY (JLP) HAS WON A MASSIVE LANDSLIDE VICTORY UNPRECEDENTED IN THE COUNTRY'S ELECTORAL HISTORY. WITH THE OFFICIAL RESULTS NOT AVAILABLE UNTIL COUNTING IS COMPLETED TODAY, THE EMBASSY ESTIMATES THAT THE JLP HAS WON A 51-5 MAJORITY IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND 57.6 PERCENT OF THE POPULAR VOTE. VIRTUALLY ALL SEATS OUTSIDE THE KINGSTON AREA WERE WON BY THE OPPOSITION. ELECTION DAY WAS REMARKABLY PEACEFUL. TURNOUT WAS HEAVY AND THERE ARE FEW REPORTS OF MANIPULATION OF VOTES. LITTLE VIOLENCE HAS OCCURRED SINCE THE ELECTION. OPPOSITION LEADER SEAGA IS EXPECTED TO BE NAMED PRIME MINISTER NOVEMBER 1 AND WILL ANNOUNCE HIS CABINET NEXT WEEK. THE MISMANAGEMENT OF THE MANLEY GOVERNMENT, THE GRAVE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY, AND A DISLIKE OF MANLEY RADICAL IMAGE CONTRIBUTED TO THE JLP VICTORY. THE NEW GOVERNMENT FACES FOUR IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS.
(A) FORMING A COMPETENT CABINET.
(B) CREATING AN IMAGE OF NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION.
(C) BRING CRIME AND VIOLENCE UNDER CONTROL.
(D) IMPLEMENTING A SOUND PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY.
EXPECTATIONS OF US ASSISTANCE ARE HIGH. END SUMMARY.

3. THE MASSIVE LANDSLIDE VICTORY WON BY THE OPPOSITION JLP ON OCTOBER 30 EXCEEDED THE PREDICTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS OF ALL OBSERVERS AND ANALYSTS IN JAMAICA. WHILE THE FINAL RESULTS WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE UNTIL THE OFFICIAL COUNTING IS COMPLETED TODAY, THE RETURNS THAT ARE AVAILABLE INDICATE THAT THE JLP HAS WON 51 OF THE 60 SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THAT THE RULING PNP OF PRIME MINISTER MICHAEL MANLEY HAS RETAINED ONLY NINE SEATS. (IN THE 1976 ELECTION, THE PNP WON 47 AND THE JLP 13) NEITHER OF THE TWO PARTIES HAS EVER WON AS LOPSIDED A VICTORY AS THE JLP IN THIS ELECTION. THE LARGEST

PREVIOUS MAJORITY WAS IN JAMAICA'S FIRST ELECTION IN 1944 WHEN THE JLP WON 32 SEATS TO 5 FOR THE PNP.

4. WITH THE RESULTS FROM 23.7 PERCENT OF THE POLLING DISTRICTS NOT YET REPORTED, AN ESTIMATED 86.5 PERCENT OF THE ELIGIBLE VOTERS EXERCISED THEIR FRANCHISE YESTERDAY, A SLIGHTLY HIGHER PERCENTAGE THAN IN 1976 WE ESTIMATED THAT APPROXIMATELY 856,000 JAMAICANS VOTED.

5. BASED ON THE RECORDED VOTE, THE JLP WON 57.6 PERCENT OF THE POPULAR VOTE. THIS IS THE LARGEST POPULAR PERCENTAGE EVER WON BY THE JLP WHICH HAS NEVER PREVIOUSLY WON MORE THAN 50.7 PERCENT OF THE VOTE AND TOPS THE RECORD 56.8 PERCENT GARNERED BY THE PNP IN 1976.

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O R 312008Z OCT 88
FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5618
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
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6. JAMAICANS WENT TO THE POLLS AT THE END OF THE LONGEST, MOST VIOLENT AND MOST EXPENSIVE ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN THE COUNTRY'S HISTORY. IN THE DAYS LEADING UP TO THE ELECTION, THERE WAS GREAT TENSION THROUGHOUT THE ISLAND, YET, ELECTION DAY ITSELF TURNED OUT TO BE MORE PEACEFUL AND ORDERLY THAN HAD BEEN EXPECTED. THREE PERSONS WERE KILLED (TWO BY THE SECURITY FORCES), MAKING ELECTION DAY 1980 ONLY SLIGHTLY MORE VIOLENT THAN IN 1976 WHEN TWO PERSONS DIED. JUST AS THERE WAS VERY LITTLE VIOLENCE ON ELECTION DAY ITSELF, THERE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN REMARKABLY FEW EFFORTS TO MANIPULATE OR TAMPER WITH THE ELECTORAL PROCESS; CERTAINLY, THERE WAS MUCH LESS OF THIS THAN IN 1976.

7. MUCH OF THE CREDIT FOR THE PEACEFUL CONDUCT OF THE POLLING BELONGS TO THE COUNTRY'S SECURITY FORCES. DESPITE THE SEVERE HANDICAPS OF INADEQUATE MOBILITY AND COMMUNICATION, THE POLICE AND THE ARMY TURNED IN A SUPERB PERFORMANCE, WHICH WAS A MAJOR DETERRENT TO VIOLENCE AND CONTRAVENTION OF THE ELECTORAL LAW. CREDIT ALSO IS DUE TO THE MAJOR ELECTORAL REFORMS WHICH WERE IN PLACE FOR THE FIRST TIME AND TO THE JAMAICANS WHO RAN THE ELECTORAL MACHINERY INDEPENDENTLY OF THE TWO POLITICAL PARTIES.

8. LOCAL REACTION TO THE ELECTION HAS LARGELY BEEN ONE OF JUBILATION BY THOSE WHO WELCOME THE JLP VICTORY AND OF GENERAL RELIEF THAT THE ELECTION, WITH ALL THE ATTENDANT POLITICAL VIOLENCE IS OVER. THE AIR OF TENSION IS GONE, AND MANY JAMAICANS RETURNED TO WORK TODAY IN A LARGELY FESTIVE ATMOSPHERE. SOME VIOLENCE HAS OCCURRED. FOUR POLICEMEN WERE SHOT AND KILLED IN SEVERAL INCIDENTS IN THE CORPORATE AREA LAST NIGHT, AND THE CONSTITUENCY OFFICE OF DEFEATED PNP CANDIDATE GUGLAS GRAHAM IN ST. ANOREW WAS BURNED.

9. OPPOSITION LEADER EDWARD SEAGA EXPECTS TO BE APPOINTED PRIME MINISTER OF JAMAICA BY GOVERNOR GENERAL FLORIZEL GLASSPOLE ON NOVEMBER 1. SEAGA IS NOT EXPECTED TO NAME HIS CABINET, WHO MUST BE APPOINTED AS MINISTERS, UNTIL NEXT WEEK.

10. PRIME MANLEY WAS SLOW IN CONCEDED VICTORY TO THE

OPPOSITION, ALTHOUGH IT WAS APPARENT AS EARLY AS SEVEN IN THE EVENING TO ALL WATCHING THE RETURNS THAT THE JLP WOULD WIN, MANLEY WOULD NOT BRING HIMSELF TO MAKE A CONCESSION STATEMENT UNTIL 80 MINUTES AFTER MIDNIGHT. IN HIS STATEMENT HE CALLED THE VERY GREAT ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES OF THE COUNTRY A DECISIVE FACTOR IN THE ELECTION AND SAID THE COUNTRY NEEDS PEACE AND UNITY. HE SAID HE HOPED THERE WILL NOT BE A POLICY OF VINOICTIVENESS.

11. MANLEY'S PNP HAS BECOME A RUMP PARTY COMPARED TO ITS PREVIOUS STRENGTH OF 47 SEATS. MANLEY RETAINED HIS SEAT (BY 55 PERCENT, COMPARED TO 75 PERCENT IN 1976) AS DID THE PARTY'S REGIONAL GENERAL SECRETARY DR. D. K. OUNCAN. TWO OTHER LEADING PNP RADICALS, PORTIA SIMPSON AND CONSTRUCTION MINISTER TONY SPAULING, ALSO WON. MINISTER OF NATIONAL SECURITY QUOLEY THOMPSON WON HIS FIRST CONTESTED ELECTION (HE WAS NOT OPPOSED IN THE 1978 BY-ELECTION WHICH GAVE HIM HIS FIRST M.P. SEAT) ALTHOUGH WE HAVE HEARD THAT THE JLP MAY DEMAND A RECOUNT AND THAT SOME 12 BOXES MAY BE MISSING. THREE PNP MODERATES-- MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT RALPH BROWN, MINISTER OF MINING HORACE CLARKE, AND MINISTER OF HEALTH SEYMOUR MULLINGS RETAINED THEIR SEATS. AN OBSCURE PNP CANDIDATE FROM ST. MARY ALSO WON. MANY PNP INCUMBENTS AND MINISTERS WERE DEFEATED, MOST NOTABLY RADICAL MINISTER OF FINANCE HUGH SMALL AND MODERATES DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER P. J. PATTERSON AND MINISTER OF LABOUR HOWARD COOKE. THOSE OF THE PNP WHO REMAIN IN THE HOUSE DO NOT FORM A LARGE OR IMPRESSIVE GROUP, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF MANLEY. MANLEY IS KNOWN TO NOT LIKE THE ROLE OF LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION AND COULD WELL TAKE A POSITION ABROAD. THE ROLE OF THE RADICALS WITHIN THE PARTY HAS BEEN DRASTICALLY UNDERCUT BY THE PARTY'S HUMILIATING LOSS, AND MODERATES HOPEFULLY WILL REASSERT THEMSELVES AS THE PARTY BEGINS THE TASK OF REBUILDING FOR FUTURE ELECTIONS.

12. THE JLP MADE A CLEAN SWEEP OF THE SEATS IN 11 OF THE COUNTRY'S 14 PARISHES. THE PNP RETAINED ONLY TWO OUT OF 45 SEATS OUTSIDE OF THE KINGSTON-ST. ANOREW CORPORATE AREA. SEVERAL SEATS NEVER WON BY THE JLP WERE TAKEN AND A PNP INCUMBENT OF 31 YEARS AND ANOTHER OF 25 YEARS WERE DEFEATED.

13. THE JLP LANDSLIDE VICTORY SHOULD BE READ LESS AS AN OVERWHELMING REJECTION OF THE POLICIES OF THE MANLEY GOVERNMENT THAN AS A DESIRE OF THE JAMAICAN POPULATION TO GIVE THE OTHER PARTY A CHANCE TO DEAL WITH THE COUNTRY'S SERIOUS PROBLEMS. NO JAMAICAN PARTY HAS EVER WON A THIRD TERM OF OFFICE, AND THE MISMANAGEMENT AND RADICAL IMAGE OF THE MANLEY GOVERNMENT MORE THAN ITS MANY PROGRESSIVE REFORMS CONTRIBUTED TO THE REASSERTION OF THE JAMAICAN

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O R 31200Z OCT 80
FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5519
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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TRADITION OF GIVING THE OPPOSITION A CHANCE, IN ADDITION
MANLEY'S IDENTIFICATION WITH CUBA COST HEAVILY
AMONG THE MANY JAMAICAN VOTERS WHO BELIEVED THE OPPOSITIONS
CHARGES THAT A PNP THIRD TERM WOULD RESULT IN A COMMUNIST
JAMAICA.

41. SEAGA NOW FACES FOUR INITIAL PROBLEMS:

(A) HE MUST FORM A CABINET MADE UP OF INDIVIDUALS
SEEN TO BE CAPABLE OF MANAGING THE GOVERNMENT EFFICIENTLY
AND OF PROVIDING THE LEADERSHIP TO SOLVE THE NATION'S ILLS.
THE REQUIRED BREADTH AND COMPETENCE WITHIN HIS PARTY
DOES NOT RUN DEEP. BUT HE MAY WELL HAVE SOME SURPRISES
IN MIND HE HAS KEPT HIS CHOICES VERY CLOSE TO HIMSELF
AND IS KNOWN TO WANT TO MANAGE HIS GOVERNMENT IN
DISCIPLINED WAY.

(B) HE MUST CREATE AN IMAGE OF NATIONAL LEADERSHIP
TO REDUCE THE EXTREME POLITICAL POLARIZATION WHICH HAS
CHARACTERIZED JAMAICAN POLICS FOR THE PAST EIGHT YEARS
AND TO WHICH HIS PARTY CONTRIBUTED. THE COUNTRY NEEDS
TO BE MORE UNIFIED IF IT IS TO DEAL WITH ITS PROBLEMS
AND IF SEAGA IS TO AVOID A POSSIBLE BUT UNLIKELY
VIOLENT REACTION FROM DECIMATED LEFT. HE MUST AVOID
AS WE THINK HE WILL TRY TO, THE TEMPTATION TO BE VINDICTIVE
AND TO ENGAGE IN WHOLESALE POLITICAL PATRONAGE
(KNOWN HERE AS POLITICAL VICTIMIZATION) A MEASURE OF
HIS LEADERSHIP WILL BE WHETHER HE CAN APPEAL TO AN UNWIN
UNDERSTAND OF THE 42 PERCENT OF THE JAMAICAN ELECTORATE
WHO VOTED AGAINST HIM AND DEEPLY DISTRUST HIM AND HIS
PARTY.

(C) HE MUST DEAL WITH THE CRIME AND VIOLENCE WHICH
PLAGUE THIS SOCIETY. FOLLOWING THE 1976 ELECTIONS, THERE
WAS AN UPSURGE IN CRIME, WHICH PROBABLY WILL OCCUR THIS
TIME AS WELL. SOME TYPE OF AMNESTY FOR TURNING IN GUNS
IS POSSIBLE. AND THEN SEAGA IS LIKELY TO CRACK DOWN VERY
HARD ON VIOLENT CRIME. HE WILL HAVE THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE
SECURITY FORCES AND MOST JAMAICAN IN THIS EFFORT.

(D) MOST IMPORTANTLY HE MUST BEGIN A PROGRAM OF
ECONOMIC RECOVERY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN MANY WAY, TO
SEAGA WITH AN OVERWHELMING MANDATE RIDING A TIGER. IN HIS
VICTORY SPEECH, HE DECLARED THAT THE PRINCIPAL PRIORITY OF HIS
GOVERNMENT IS TO RESOLVE UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE JAMAICAN ECONOMY.
THIS WILL BE A DIFFICULT TASK INDEED. GROWTH OF THE
ECONOMY IS DEPENDENT ON THE AVAILABILITY OF IMPORTED
RAW MATERIALS AND CAPITAL GOODS FOR BOTH ITS AGRICULTURAL
AND MANUFACTURING SECTORS, NOT THE COUNTRY'S FOREIGN

EXCHANGE POSITION IS BLEAK. THE BANK OF JAMAICA BALANCE
SHEET ON THE DAY SEAGA WAS ASKED TO FORM A GOVERNMENT
INCLUDES ONLY ABOUT \$30 MILLION IN LIQUID RESERVES AND
SOME \$125 MILLION IN ARREARS ON CURRENT PAYMENTS. ONLY
FRANTIC JUGGLING OF FUNDS IN RECENT WEEKS ENABLE THE BANK
OF JAMAICA TO AVOID DEFAULT ON GOVERNMENT DEBT OBLIGATIONS
FACED WITH THIS SITUATION SEAGA'S FIRST STEP TOWARD
ECONOMIC RECOVERY MUST BE TO ARRANGE ADEQUATE FOREIGN
EXCHANGE. HIS EFFORT TO DO SO WILL INCLUDE A RESTRUCTURING
OF JAMAICA FOREIGN DEBT OBLIGATIONS, THE PROMOTION
PRIVATE INVESTMENT FROM ABROAD, FROM BOTH FOREIGNER AND
JAMAICAN WITH ASSETS
ABROAD WHO ARE NOW EXPECTED TO BE MORE WILLING TO INVEST IN THEIR
OWN COUNTRY.
AND IMF STABILIZATION PROGRAM
AND FOREIGN ASSISTANCE FROM TRADITIONAL WESTERN
DONORS AND MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENT BANKS.

15. THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE HIGH EXPECTATIONS THAT
IT WILL RECEIVE SIGNIFICANT HELP FROM THE US AND OTHER
WESTERN COUNTRIES. WHILE WE BELIEVE SEAGA HAS A REALISTIC
APPRECIATION THAT DIRECT US ASSISTANCE CANNOT SOLVE
HIS PROBLEMS HE AND MEMBERS OF HIS GOVERNMENT WILL VERY
MUCH LOOK TO THE US TO INCREASE OFFICIAL
ASSISTANCE AND PRIVATE INVESTMENT AND TO BE SUPPORTIVE IN
OBTAINING ADEQUATE FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND IN REVIVING THE
TOURIST INDUSTRY.
LAWRENCE

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